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STEEL SHUTS DOWN
Inventories high; companies tough; Washington hands-off; workers strike

WORLD-WIDE DEBATE ON SOCIALISM

Gunfire in Poznan punctuates the great reappraisal

By Elmer Bendiner

ON JUNE 27 Secretary of State Dulles cheerfully predicted that international communism would have to solve its "dilemma" by reverting to the "iron discipline that Stalin imposed." Twenty-four hours later tanks were rolling into the Polish city of Poznan and guns were blazing.

Though the lot of the Poles was still rough amid the gigantic reconstruction of their country, Poland was the most confident of the post-war crop of socialist nations and its government had moved fastest and farthest toward broad civil liberties since the 20th Congress of the Soviet CP. In debating an amnesty which last May freed some 27,000 prisoners Deputy Stanislaw Pawlak said:

"The wide scope of the Amnesty Bill corresponds to the present situation in the country and to the international situation; it reflects the strength of the people's rule. If you are strong you can afford to forgive to a great extent the offenses committeed by your former adversaries and by those who have gone astray."

DISCONTENT PRESENT: On the other hand Poland had had one of the most powerful and brutal fascist forces outside of Nazi Germany, and still contends with a "government-in-exile" sitting in London pledged to overthrow the present government. The U. S. Central Intelligence Agency, headed by Allen Dulles, claims credit for coups in Guatemala, Egypt and Iran, all on soil not nearly so tempting. Even among the Poles most loyal to the new regime there must have been discontent. Last April Edward Ochab, first secretary of the Polish CP, admitted:

"We cannot say as the ruling party we have increased living standards to the extent the working people would wish and so speedily as we ourselves imagined some time ago that we would."

Whether or not the the CIA was involved, there were indications that the Poznan violence was less than a spontaneous rising of the workers. It seemed designed for its effect on foreign policy. Rarely has a popular revolutionary effort made its slogan primarily a cry for help from abroad. Poznan was in the final days of an international trade fair, crowded with West German, British, French and U. S. businessmen inspecting Socialist show-cases.

THE TRAP: When the demonstrators marched toward the fair grounds they shouted their slogans in English, French and German. It was not a peaceful gathering of workers presenting a grievance. Many were armed. Their first objective was the police headquarters which they burned. They attacked the city power plant, gas works, train stations, bank, post office and radio station. It was an outbreak by an underground movement that proclaimed no program but destruction. The rest of the country stayed quiet.

Dana Adams Schmidt reported in the N. Y. **Times** that State Dept. officials were

(Continued on Page 4)

FACT AND FICTION

New ILWU pact explodes Eastland's waterfront plot

By Lawrence Emery

WHILE SEN. EASTLAND'S Internal Security subcommittee on June 21 was trying again to tag Harry Bridges as "subversive", Bridges himself was some 5,000 miles away putting the finishing touches to a new union contract promising peace and stability in labor relations in Hawaii for the next five years.

Columnist Victor Riesel, recently blinded by an acid-thrower, told the committee that Bridges is a threat to U.S. security and is a "champion of communist and Soviet causes" who could cut the "lifeline" between the West Coast and Hawaii by calling a strike whenever he liked. But almost at the same time the president of the Honolulu Employers Council was saying of the new contract negotiated by Bridges' Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union:

"For the first time in the history of unionism in the Hawaiian Islands there is a definite prospect for peace on our waterfronts for five years. This should provide the stability which Hawaii so badly needs for the planning and build-

(Continued on Page 3)

ACTION NOW MAY SAVE A LIFE

U. S. in deadly rush to deport Greek seaman

POLYCHRONIS PASCHALIDIS, leader of a fighting Greek seamen's union, is now in the N.Y. detention headquarters of the U.S. Dept. of Immigration and Naturalization and one short step away from a concentration camp or death.

On June 21 he was saved by hair's breadth timing from being pushed into that fatal step. That morning the Paschalidis family was intact: Paul, as he has come to be called during his stay in the U.S., his American wife and their two children.

At 9 a.m. Paschalidis' attorney Ira Gollobin was in Burlington, Vt., regional headquarters of the Immigration Service, arguing an appeal against an earlier deportation order. He had new evidence and he argued 40 minutes. Twenty minutes after he finished he was handed a one-sentence decision affirming the order "after careful consideration."

HOT SPEED: At 11 a.m. Paschalidis was arrested, denied use of a phone until 1 p.m., when Gollobin was supposedly on a plane returning to New York. At that time the Immigration Service notified Gollobin's N.Y. office that his client was arrested. But the lawyer's plane had not yet taken off from Burlington; as he was boarding it he was paged and informed that Paschalidis was to be deported to Greece at 4 p.m. that afternoon. Gollobin phoned an associate in New York to apply for a writ of habeas corpus and Paschalidis was barely saved from the 4 p.m. deadline.

The hearing on that writ was first scheduled for June 26 but is now postponed to July 3 before Judge Weinfeld.

The same deadly rush was on in Washington. Sen. William Langer (R-N.D.) had introduced a private bill in behalf of Paschalidis which ordinarily delays action until the bill is acted upon or the session ends. But on June 20, 24 hours before the scheduled deportation, Langer was notified that it was going ahead regardless.

There was another question: with trans-Atlantic flights at a premium, how could even the Immigration Service learn of a decision in Vermont at 10 a.m. and book passage the same day—unless the case was shockingly pre-judged?

THE MAN: Who is Paschalidis and why the rush to send him back to Greece?

He entered the U.S. as a seaman in 1948. While he was in a hospital his ship sailed. He stayed, married and settled down. In 1950 he was arrested and ordered deported in 1951 for overstaying his permit. No action was taken on his appeal for five years. Last March new hearings were ordered—but this time on political charges under the McCarran Act. The reason: Paschalidis had been functioning as N.Y. secy. of the Fedn. of Greek Maritime Unions which was organized during the Nazi occupation of Greece in World War II with headquarters in Cardiff, Wales.

Since the war the FGMU has won repeated wage boosts and the Greek government has outlawed it. Ten of its leaders were sentenced to death in Greece and saved only by world-wide protest. They are now serving life terms. One died as the result of tortures in a Greek concentration camp.

ACTION NEEDED: FGMU spokesmen charge that U.S. Immigration authorities have worked closely with Greek shipowners, using their blacklist. At the Paschalidis hearings documentation of terror in Greece was ignored or discounted. Special Inquiry Officer Edward P. Emanuel said in his ruling on June 6:

"Despite applicant's contention, we cannot close our eyes to the fact that Greece is a democratic country. She is our ally. That country is not communist, but one of the bulwarks against that ideology . . . We have our laws by which we protect ourselves and Greece, similarly . . . It has not been established that the self-protection that country may provide for itself is persecution."

Greece's "self-protection" may mean the death of Polychronis Paschalidis. The Greek-American Committee for the Defense of Paschalidis last week urged that telegrams be sent to Attorney Gen. Brownell in Washington asking him to stay the deportation. Funds to carry on the defense may be sent to Norma Hanan, secy. of the committee, at 257 7th Av., N.Y.

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THE MAIL BAG

Dulles' dilemma

Why can't Mr. Dulles let the American base at Keflavik, Iceland, go?

Because he can't permit the Soviets **not** to move in, after some American withdrawal! The spectacle of "imperialist Red Russia" not moving into some "vacuum" left behind retreating U.S. brass certainly would have devastating effects on the whole cold war, NATO, SEATO, BAGHDAD-PACT, and what have you.

Bodo Ohly

The Furtseva interview

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Tabitha Petran's interview with Ekaterina Furtseva, of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, contains no denial of the Jewish curbs, your headline to the contrary notwithstanding. It is a remarkable commentary that, after almost 40 years of socialism, a member of the governing party's central committee should smugly deny anti-Semitism by "pointing to many Jewish people prominent in science and the arts" and by saying that "some 80% of the musicians who played at the Tito reception at the Kremlin were Jewish." In America, this is like a Washington official refuting the persecution of the Negro people by pointing to Ralph Bunche, George Washington Carver, Cab Calloway and Louis Armstrong. As a refutation of the charge of anti-Semitism voiced by the Polish **Folksshtimme**, which detailed many instances of this primitive expression of hate and frustration in the Soviet Union, Mrs. Furtseva's answer stands as nothing.

Indeed, it is nothing but official confirmation of the charge. For what could be more blatant than this indirect quote from Mrs. Furtseva, as written by Miss Petran: "The government has found in some of its departments a heavy concentration of Jewish people, upwards of 50% of the staff. Steps were taken to transfer them to other enterprises, giving them equally good positions and without jeopardizing their rights. All of this was in accordance with Lenin's principles on the national question." I would like to know which principle of Lenin is referred to by Mrs. Furtseva. Transpose this picture to Washington, and put Mrs. Furtseva's words into the mouth of a responsible government official. Imagine the uproar bound to be caused by such an admission of discriminatory job transfer based on Jewish origin!

Miss Petran is in a position to question Mrs. Furtseva and other Soviet leaders very closely on these and related matters raised before the public eye by the **Folksshtimme**. May she do so and faithfully record their answers for printing. On the basis only of the Furtseva interview, it would seem that the first socialist nation has labored and fought and produced such a self-satisfied view of the Jewish people and anti-Semitism as was recorded somewhat tragically by Sinclair Lewis in **It Can't Happen Here.**

Name Withheld

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LEVITTOWN, N.Y.

How do you find out that there are too many Jews or any other except by either secret police or, just as bad, biased questionnaires which are anti-Semitic or anti-other minority as any American who has fought for the elimination of such bias knows? Can you not picture **"them"**—being transferred to "equally good"? How do you find such, and what rights does a transferee have left to be jeopardized?

Sorry I don't know Lenin's principle, but what is the "National problem?" Too many Jews, or so many intellectual Jews that a quota system is necessary? (Please note tongue in cheek for last line.)

How about some GUARDIAN headlines about the wonderful work being done in South Africa to give the Negro population the right to live only in government-created slums?!! Why not a headline like "Sen. Eastland protects rights of Mississippians to attend inferior schools"? Sounds kind of sickening, doesn't it?

May I recommend independent and critical thinking on some of these very subjects? Leftist opinions need a good blast of fresh air.

I still like you for otherwise varied news.

L.A.

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NEW YORK, N.Y.

Nenni, an open associate of the Italian CP, refers to the Soviet manipulation of Stalinist films, literature, etc., as "the most vast propaganda hoax in the memory of the world," and calls in effect for a reconsideration of Russia and the various CP's. But the best the GUARDIAN can do is send Tabitha Petran to Moscow and print a pitiable interview with a Mrs. Furtseva, which attempts to explain away Khrushchev's revelations on grounds of historical expediency. And the GUARDIAN prints this piece of political bankruptcy, with a straight face, as "from one woman to another."

The revelations of socialist perversions in Russia—as late and as lamely as they come—seem to offer democratic-minded people of all shades of economic opinion a chance to build together toward a better world. But representatives of the various political viewpoints must bring openness and honesty to the job. The GUARDIAN's pose of "non-Communist" left-wingism inadequately conceals its true bias. Until the GUARDIAN becomes what it claims to be, it will not play an effective role in any movement toward greater democracy or socialism.

Lloyd R. Ellison

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

The 1956 plates—black on chrome yellow—each will have letters, followed by three numbers . . . Not every letter combination will be used. The state asked University of California linguists to help eliminate words which wouldn't be suitable. Some of those that are out: BRA, BUM, JUG, RAT and RED.

Valley Times, Calif.
11/10/55

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: Anonymous, Los Angeles. Be sure to send original clipping with each entry.

New newsletter

WINSTON-SALEM, N.C.

This is to let your readers know that I am now issuing a **Southern Newsletter.** It will come out twice a month. It will carry news of the developing desegregation issues, news of the labor drive to organize the South, and also a brief feature on Negro history or stories of Southern whites who opposed the slavery system.

Subscription $3 a year; $2 for six months. I urge all to subscribe to the **Southern Newsletter** for the latest news in an awakening South.

Eugene Feldman, P.O. Box 1364

Liked Montgomery series

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

The articles on Montgomery, Ala., by the talented Eva Grimes, were so magnificent, so beautifully and well written, that we must make expression of our enjoyment of them.

We also wish to make a concrete expression of the agreement of opinion we have with Miss Grimes that the protest

Drawing by Eccles, London

"Well, so long, partner!"

must be supported to its successful conclusion and that white people all over must be made aware of what is taking place there—that the struggle there is one for complete democracy in our land for all of us.

Please turn the enclosed $12 over to Miss Grimes, to be sent to Montgomery with our warmest personal greetings to all the good people there.

Jean & Bob Borden

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LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I am moved to comment on "The Story Behind the Montgomery Trial" in the April 2 issue.

It is a simple, moving story, beautifully told, with all the human qualities.

This and so much of the GUARDIAN surely makes it indispinsable. I predict a rebirth for it, that will be "heard 'round the world."

Annette

REPORT TO READERS

1776 and the Smith Act

TO HELP USHER IN the Year of Our Independence the 181st, there has just come to hand a remarkable book by Dr. John Somerville, one of the world's leading non-Communist authorities on Marxism-Leninism. It is called **The Communist Trials and the American Tradition*** and is Dr. Somerville's report of his appearances as an expert witness for the defense in three Smith Act trials. (Philadelphia, 1954; Cleveland, 1956; and the Philadelphia, 1956, trial of Dr. Albert Blumberg for CP membership.)

We have chosen for reprinting here some excerpts from Dr. Somerville's brief and brilliant formulation prepared for presentation in court and included in the book in an opening chapter entitled "The Declaration of Independence and the Communist." One reason for reprinting what we do is that each time Dr. Somerville tried to mention the Declaration in direct testimony, the government prosecutor said "I object" and the judge said "Objection sustained" (although he did finally manage to spirit in a mention of the year 1776 under cross-examination).

Here in part is what Dr. Somerville prepared for the court:

THE MARXIST-LENINIST social philosophy, technically called historical materialism, which lies at the basis of the American Communist Party, clearly shares the practically universal belief of modern schools of political theory in the right of revolution itself—that is, when there is no peaceful way in which the needs and demands of the majority of people can be met . . . Indeed it is the general judgment of scholars that Marx and Engels derived this principle in part from earlier thinkers like John Locke, Thomas Jefferson and others.

A special word should be said about the concept of the majority in this attitude toward revolution. Some doctrines of revolution reject the idea that any attention should be paid to numbers, to the question of majority and minority. This is not the case with Marx, Engels, Lenin, or Stalin. These writers evidently conceived a valid revolution in terms of mass, of having majority support. In their view, any revolution which in its nature was not a response to the felt needs of the majority could not be really successful and should never be undertaken. Marx himself used the term **putschist**, from the German word **putsch** (insurrection), to designate believers in indiscriminate or constant attempts at revolution, and emphatically rejected their doctrine.

Lenin, and Stalin after him, emphasized again and again that revolution by force was justified only when two conditions were simultaneously present:

a) when the existing government was unwilling or unable to carry out the will of the majority in vital matters, and
b) where so drastic a step as forcible revolution had the support of the majority and represented the will of the majority . . .

CONSIDER OUR OWN American Declaration of Independence, which is our very birth certificate as a nation. This Declaration exactly expresses a principle central to Marxism-Leninism when it states that one of the "self-evident" truths is that "whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends [life, liberty, pursuit of happiness], it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it." Another passage of the Declaration is an even better expression of this principle: "But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them [the people] under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security."

To understand the attitude of Marxism-Leninism we must carefully note and emphasize that this principle, which advocates belief in the right of revolution under **certain** circumstances, is a very different thing from advocating revolution under **any** circumstances. That difference is clear and compelling . . .

Put in other words, it is clear that a consistent belief in or adherence to the Communist Party philosophy we are examining would

(Continued on Page 3)

* *THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE AMERICAN TRADITION, Expert Testimony on Force and Violence, by John Somerville Ph.D. 256 pp. Cameron Associates. $2. Distributed as a June selection by Liberty Book Club.*

WHO'S FOOLING WHOM?

Soviet gains on economic front belie Dulles' claims

By Kumar Goshal

SECY. DULLES appeared at his news conference last week "full of bounce and confidence" (N.Y. **Times**, 6/28). He was surrounded by TV cameras, Voice of America microphones and tape recorders, indicating something momentous.

Dulles was, **NYT**'s James Reston said, in fact "celebrating a victory." Observing the reactions of the Communist parties of various countries following his release of the text of Soviet leader Khrushchev's secret speech, he gloatingly announced that "international communism is in a state of perplexity." He was sure his disclosure of the speech would loosen Moscow's control over other Communist parties. But his feeling of victory was a bit dampened when he was obliged to admit that loosening of Moscow's control might enhance the chances of forming successful united fronts with the CP in Western countries.

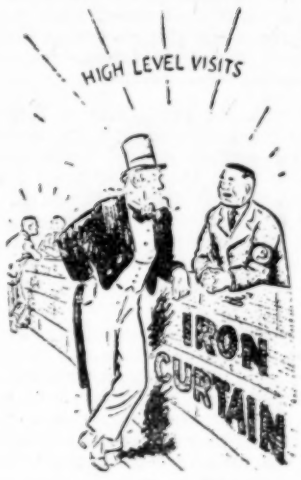
FOOLING WHOM? In an expansive mood, Dulles indulged in wishful thinking by describing the years since 1950 as "lean years" for the Soviet Union, without any victories. However, "his eagerness to take credit for the difficulties of the Communist parties," Reston said, resulted from the fact that "it is a long time since Mr. Dulles [himself] has had any victories to claim."

It was hard to tell who, besides himself, Dulles was trying to confuse. During the years he called "lean," Moscow achieved remarkable victories in diplomacy, promotion of world peace and international economic cooperation. Significant diplomatic successes followed the exchange of visits between Soviet leaders and Asian and European statesmen. Together with Moscow's achievement of nuclear weapons parity with Washington, these visits convinced the uncommitted nations as well as some of the U.S.' allies of the Soviet desire for peaceful, competitive coexistence.

AN EXPERT SPEAKS: In a cautious and conservative study of Soviet economy, prepared for British bankers and appearing in **Lloyd's Bank Review** (April, '56), the well-known expert A. Nove writes: Assuming that Soviet industrial output in 1950 was 35% of America's, at the present rate of development "the U.S.S.R. . . . may have reached America's present industrial output by 1963, [becoming] an industrial giant, **the** industrial giant of the Eurasia land mass. Her heavy industry should be capable of becoming a serious export competitor."

Nove finds "the conclusion is inescapable: the West faces a really serious challenge on the economic front. The Russian leaders have given notice that they regard this front as vital in the world of 'competitive coexistence,' and it would be foolish indeed, through over-concentration on military dangers . . ., to disregard the facts." Nove also thinks that the West has exaggerated the Soviet armaments budget.

FLOURISHING EXCHANGE: The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have already impressively demonstrated "competitive coexistence" through their foreign trade agreements, especially with the undeveloped countries. For example, in a partial breakdown of Egypt's agreements with the socialist countries, **The Christian Science Monitor** reported (6/15): Czechoslovakia plans to build for Egypt a nuclear physics laboratory and to supply engineers, technicians and training personnel on cash or barter basis, and has contracted to build rubber, shoe, ceramics and cement plants; Bulgaria is building oil refineries and preserved food factories; Hungary is building electric power plants and seven bridges equipped with revolving mechanism; Poland is setting up an enamelware factory and supplying training personnel; China is sending finished steel in return for cotton; E. Germany has contracted to build a sugar refinery, chemical laboratories, shipyards, power stations and an auto factory.



Carmack in Christian Science Monitor
"BACK YARD FENCE?"

"REAL OFFENSIVE": The U.S.S.R. has made the most spectacular offer to finance and build the entire Aswan High Dam project in Egypt, estimated to cost over a billion dollars, at 2% interest. According to **CSM**, Moscow alone has "development projects or economic enterprises with the following 17 countries: four in Africa (Egypt, the Sudan, Liberia and Ethiopia); five in the Near East (Afghanistan, Iran, Lebanon, Libya, Syria); six in Asia (Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Nepal, Pakistan); and two in Latin America (Argentina, Paraguay)."

Trade between socialist countries and the rest of the world has been going on long enough to destroy forever the myth of poor quality of socialist goods and unreliable delivery. **The Wall Street Journal** reported (6/12): "The Communists are not only delivering more goods as called for in contracts with free world countries, but the items are generally of good quality. [Their] economic offensive is real. It upsets contentions that the Soviet and her allies couldn't or wouldn't come through on their trade pledges . . . If the Russians send a shipment of furs that's not up to standards, they'll not only correct it, but send along a bonus in the next shipment."

HARMFUL POLICIES: Facing this situation, Washington continues grimly standing pat on military aid and alliances, although, as **AP**'s Foreign Affairs analyist Tom Whitney said (**The New Republic**, 6/11), military assistance "is not only useless but even positively harmful to the interests of the countries which would receive it and the U.S. itself." Whitney agreed that, "perhaps justifiably," some of the military aid given to U.S.' allies "will be viewed by other non-Communist nations near them as a threat to their own security," a point made by Nehru and others. Whitney urged that the entire foreign aid program "should be converted to a civilian economic aid program," with special emphasis on **"capital goods and technical assistance."**

WORDS AND DEEDS: At his press conference Dulles had nothing to say about the economic challenge of the socialist countries. He still emphasized "our mutual security program," called on the "free world" to "maintain its unity and vigor." This indicated a lamentable lack of understanding of the current world situation "on the part of an Administration which calls for deeds, not words, but too often, its critics say, indulges in words, not deeds" (**Washington Post**, 6/17).

ILWU pact

(Continued from Page 1)

ing of our future."

NO DIFFERENTIAL: Earlier the ILWU had negotiated a new two-year contract for the Islands' 15,000 sugar workers and a three-year pact for the 8,000 pineapple workers, winning substantial gains for both groups. All three contracts, covering the basic labor force of the Territory, provide for peaceful settlement of disputes without recourse to strikes.

In the new longshore agreement the union achieved its oldest goal: equality of pay with West Coast dockers who have been receiving $2.29 an hour compared to $2.16 in the Islands. The 2,000 Hawaii longshoremen now get an immediate 6c-an-hour increase with the remaining gap of 7c an hour to be closed by 1959. Any West Coast increase during that time will automatically apply to the Islands to maintain parity. The union also won improvements in medical and pension plans and other benefits.

None of these realities had meaning for Sen. Eastland in his search for reds on the nation's waterfronts, which didn't get very far. His scheduled two days of hearings dwindled to one; of eight announced witnesses five didn't appear. In addition to Riesel, the committee heard professional informer John Lautner and Jeff Kibre, ILWU Washington representative, who protested the "unfounded allegations" of Riesel.

JENNER JABS COURTS: But the Riesel allegations were enough to prompt committee member William E. Jenner (R-Ind.) to demand immediate court action on the appeal of Jack Hall, Hawaii regional director of the ILWU, from a 1953 conviction under the Smith Act. Jenner declared that "delay on the part of the courts is a deplorable thing and I think the Dept. of Justice should investigate." His timing was off as badly as Eastland's; almost as he was speaking an appeal brief by Hall's attorney Telford Taylor was being filed in San Francisco. Oral argument on the appeal was scheduled for July 2.

In his brief Taylor cited Hall's record as a responsible labor leader in Hawaii and said: "The accusation simply does not make sense. The prosecution came to the trial empty-handed and the indictment and the verdict, alike, can only be regarded as the product of troubled times and a complete misconception of the real nature of sedition . . . If Hall's conviction is allowed to stand, the restrictions upon the [Smith] Act's scope as prescribed by Congress and the Supreme Court under the Constitution will be reduced to meaningless fiction."

SPEED-UP DEPORTATION: In the midst of his excursion to the waterfront, Sen. Eastland found time to demand the denaturalization and deportation of four American citizens. Two are leaders of the independent United Electrical Workers Union, James Matles and James Lustig. A third, Constantine Radzi, was vaguely identified as a one-time Communist Party official, and the fourth, Louis Weinstock, has already been convicted under the Smith Act. In a letter to Atty. Gen. Brownell, Eastland wrote:

"May we have your assurance that the Dept. of Justice is taking all possible steps to expedite the denaturalization and deportation of the named individuals, and of others in the same position?"

MINE-MILL CARRIES ON: Elsewhere on the labor front another union under government attack was still making gains for its members. The independent Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers, which has been cited to the Subversive Activities Control Board as "communist-infiltrated", announced on June 21 that it had signed new three-year agreements with three of the Big Four in the non-ferrous metals industry. The pacts were with Anaconda, American Smelting & Refining, and Phelps Dodge. The contracts followed a pattern: immediate 10c-an-hour increases with 6c- or 7c-an-hour boosts in each of the next two years. The Phelps Dodge increases constituted a 24.3c-an-hour wage package; total benefits to AS&R workers added up to 34c an hour. Negotiations with the Kennecott Copper Corp. continued in Salt Lake City.

JACK HALL
"Empty-handed prosecution"

1776 and the Smith Act

(Continued from Page 2)

not **necessitate** advocacy of any attempt to overthrow the government by force. A given individual might conceivably be a sincere adherent to that philosophy his life long and yet never be faced with any set of circumstances which, in the light of his cherished beliefs, would call for any such action . . .

If it is possible to adhere to the Marxian or Communist philosophy without ever taking part in any actual attempt to overthrow the government by force and without advocating that any specific or concrete attempt be initiated to that end in a given capitalist country like the United States, then it is logically required to conclude that this philosophy is not one that makes necessary an attempt at, or advocacy of, violent overthrow of any government in the United States.

FOR VERY RELEVANT READING in the afterglow of this July 4 —with the victims of a dozen Smith Act proceedings very much in our thoughts and new arrests and trials still taking place—we strongly recommend Dr. Somerville's scholarly, logical and yet puzzled presentation—puzzled because of what he ran into in legal hocus-pocus whenever he tried to help a jury understand the philosophies on trial.

At one point he sat down and wrote a letter to Rep. Howard Smith (D., Va.), author of the Smith Act, asking whether he had meant the Act as a repudiation of the Declaration of Independence. It took two tries, but finally Smith answered as follows:

"I have your letter of May 14 in which you ask whether I in any way intended by the provision of the Smith Act to repudiate the principles stated in the Declaration of Independence of the right of the people to overthrow a tyrannical government.

"Personally I had no such intention, nor was it considered as far as I know in the debates in the House. Very sincerely yours . . ."

How's that for a July 4 blockbuster?

--THE GUARDIAN

Here's something you can do now

This week's mail brings a request from Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois for summer contributions to the Families of Smith Act Victims—575 Sixth Ave., N.Y. 11—for children's vacations, visits to imprisoned parents, and for the commissary and book needs of the prisoners themselves. Will you help?

PUBLIC POWER IN NEBRASKA—III

Next step—publicly owned atom energy

By Reuben W. Borough
(Last of three articles)

WITH ITS RECORD in the establishment of clean-cut public enterprise free from the inhibiting influences of "partnership" relations with private corporations, it is not surprising that Nebraska's Consumers Public Power District should take leadership in the search for, and the examination of, new potential sources of power. Neither is it surprising that the District should insist that the people of Nebraska have a right to own and use such power.

In February, 1954, the District, convinced that the atom has "a tremendous peaceful potential" and can "serve the great good of all people," made formal application to the Atomic Energy Commission for the construction of a nuclear power plant in Nebraska. The commission rejected the first proposal from a public body and instead granted the application of the Duquesne Light Co. for the construction of a plant at Shippingport, Pa., thus bringing up to six the total of major reactor-plan power units for private enterprise.

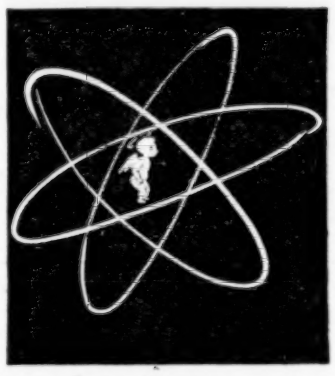
In March, 1955, the District applied for the construction of a reactor plant of the sodium-graphite type and the application was approved. The reactor is now being built by North American Aviation Inc. It is anticipated that the project will be ready for operation in 1958.

NOT A MONSTER: In contrast to the criminal bluster of the atoms-for-war conspiracy, the District, in a formal explanation of its program, made these sane observations:

"Unfortunately, the power of the fissioning atom was first revealed to the world in terms of a weapon. As a result, the words, 'nuclear energy', have been associated in the public mind with war and destruction. Such an association has clouded two vital facts:

"1. The atom, in itself, is not a destroying monster, but simply a source of almost unlimited energy—energy whose application to peaceful pursuits will eventually bring vast social and economic benefits.

"2. There is a complete dissimilarity between the processes used to release this energy for destructive purposes and the



processes used to harness it for peaceful applications."

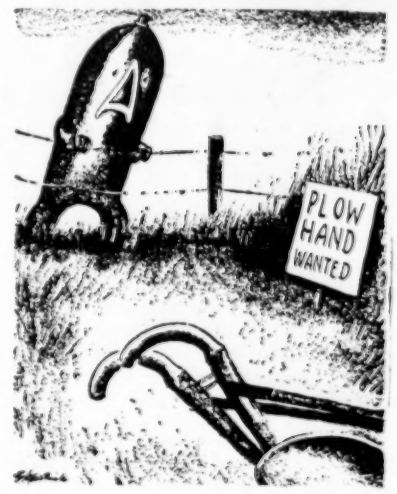
Terror is not necessarily involved nor the brandishing of terror by militarist over-lords!

WHY THE REACTOR: On October 29, 1955, the District, through its alert and efficient general manager, R. L. Schacht, issued a fascinating statement on its nuclear project which, logically enough, failed to make nation-wide headlines in the big press. According to this resumé, the direct reason for the new reactor plant was the District's need to locate additional sources of power with which to supplement the electric energy supply from its 17 hydro, 19 internal combustion, and two steam plants.

Faced with the probability of increasing costs of generation by its internal combustion engines and its steam plants (depending upon the conventional fuels: coal, oil, gas), the district turned to the splitting of the atom as the likely steam producer of the future. It felt that responsibility for experimentation in the interest of the public should not be avoided.

But it was not only the direct benefit of nuclear power in which the District was interested. It appeared that the indirect benefits might prove to be far-reaching and of more importance than the direct. As by-products of the operation of the nuclear reactor plant there would be, without excessive cost, certain "spent fuel elements" (rods of uranium) which, during the cooling off process ("decay of the radioactivity"), could completely sterilize products exposed to its radiation. Among these are meats pre-packaged in a sealed container, fresh vegetables, grains in the carload which need protection from vermin, flour, drugs, milk, eggs, cheese.

CHALLENGE TO NATION: The work of the salvaged by-products does not end even here. For when the cooling off period ("decay of the radioactivity") reaches a safe point, the spent fuel elements can be reclaimed and separated from the still remaining low-intensity radioactive materials, which can then be



Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch
Time he was making himself useful

used in medicine, agriculture research and industrial processes.

Says the District's historic public statement in conclusion:

"The advantages of a reactor installation are, in many ways, comparable to the large-scale developments of hydro-electric power. It is frequently difficult to decide whether the large dams have greater value for the production of power or for soil conservation and crop protection afforded by the control of water resources. In the case of the reactor it is difficult to decide whether the production of power is the primary concern and advantage or whether the utilization of materials produced in the reactor will be of greater value to the economy of the state."

Whatever the answer, Republican Nebraska is on the way to reap double benefit, not for the special interests, but for the people at large. What a challenge to the rest of the nation!

The reappraisal

(Continued from Page 1)

interpreting the Poznan fighting as the "Polish man-in-the-street's expression of the kind of criticism of Soviet rule made by non-Soviet Communist leaders in intellectual terms."

It was plain that a trap had been set for the Polish government. In view of the emergency, it could impose a state of siege—customary in most nations under less provocation—and squelch the rising debate and democratic reforms which were making Socialist regimes more attractive. Instead Premier Josef Cyrankiewicz over the Warsaw radio said that the "aim of the workers of Poznan undoubtedly was to present their case, and that was their right," though he condemned the "provocators" who led them to violence. He told how several days before the outbreak workers delegations had presented "just demands" to government representatives and these were met.

DEBATE RAGES: He said the CP had developed a plan "to raise gradually the standard of living among the working masses." He said "judicial investigations" would be started against those "found with arms in their hands" but vowed that violence "will not stop the process of democratization of Poland's political life."

The new trend toward democracy under socialism survived its stiffest test at Poznan. Meanwhile the world-wide discussion on how democratic socialism was or could be raged on. New York, Rome, Paris and Moscow all spoke up in recent weeks. Anti-Semitism under socialism troubled the Communist Yiddish-language daily, **Freiheit**, in New York. Commenting on the exclusive interview granted by Soviet CP leader Ekaterina Furtseva to the **GUARDIAN's** Tabitha Petran, the paper said editorially on June 25:

"When Ekaterina Furtseva asserted in the interview that nothing happened to Jewish culture, and that there are no problems of anti-Semitism, she unfortunately showed that she does not comprehend what the Jewish question is about."

MORE UNCLARITY: Enumerating the Jewish schools, newspapers and theatres in earlier days in the U.S.S.R. the **Freiheit** asked: "Where is all this now? What has become of this magnificent edifice? It was destroyed! It fell victim to the crippling of Soviet democracy. It became a victim of terror, a victim of great-Russian chauvinism, which was so stubbornly fought by Lenin. In 1948 when the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee was liquidated Jewish culture was completely eradicated."

On Miss Furtseva's comment that in ministries where staffs were up to 50% Jewish, Jews were transferred to other positions, the **Freiheit** commented: "Can there be such a thing as a system of quotas on government jobs—something which is impermissible if anti-Semitism is to be uprooted? . . . The interview given by E. Furtseva has only brought more unclarity and has further upset the friends of the Soviet Union."

In Rome Pietro Nenni, secretary of the Socialist Party, spoke up:

"Now the whole problem of Soviet society . . . is reduced to the necessity for internal democratization, for the circulation of ideas, in a word for political liberty, a necessity which has lain below the surface of Soviet society for many years. . . . After a century has passed the concept of dictatorship of the proletariat must be thought out again and reconsidered in relation to a society where the influence and weight of the proletariat and of the workers in general have become determinant in public life and where the state reflects, in countries democratically and socially more advanced, the continuous evolution of class positions."

THE REASONS: Similarly the British **New Statesman and Nation** on June 16 probed beneath the "cult of personality" and found the reasons for the terror in the discipline required during the 30's when the Soviet Union was industrializing itself "at a fantastic pace in the shattering aftermath of revolution, foreign intervention and civil war." The **New Statesman** quoted the German communist leader Rosa Luxembourg warning in 1918 that "freedom for the supporters of the government only, for the members of one party only—no matter how large its membership may be—is no freedom at all. . . . Without general elections, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, and freedom of speech, life in every public institution slows down, becomes a caricature of itself, and bureaucracy arises as the only deciding factor. . . . Public life gradually dies, and a few dozen party leaders with inexhaustible energy and limitless idealism direct and rule . . . cliquism develops a dictatorship, not the dictatorship of the proletariat but of a handful of politicians. . . ."

The magazine said the Soviet leaders might reply with some justification: "If we had listened to . . . Rosa Luxembourg, no doubt we should have lived nobly, but we—and the Revolution—would have perished." The situation now was different, said the **New Statesman:** "The Soviet regime is safe enough to allow a genuine clash of critical opinion."

DENNIS QUOTED: France, too, was in turmoil with its CP leaders critical of Moscow, demanding explanations, preparing for the mid-July Party Congress as perhaps the most fateful in French CP history. Though French CP leader Thorez had followed the lead of his Italian counterpart Togliatti in sharply querying Moscow for a "fuller explanation," Pravda chose to reprint the statement of the U. S. CP leader Eugene Dennis. Dennis, like the others, had asked what lay behind the Stalin "cult" and where were the present Soviet leaders during the atrocities described by Khrushchev, though he did not go as far as Togliatti in asking what general miscarriage there might be in the system itself. On July 2 the Moscow radio broadcast a resolution of the CP Central Committee answering the critics, offering a definition of democracy at odds with that of Nenni, the New **Statesman** and a number of Communist spokesmen:

"The essence of democracy lies not in formal indications but in whether the political authority services and reflects in action the will and basic interests of the majority of the people and workers. The entire internal and foreign policy of the Soviet state proclaims the fact that our regime is a truly democratic popular regime." It described the Soviet as an organ of "genuine popular authority."

On critical CP's: ". . . certain of our friends abroad have not got to the bottom of the questions of the personality cult and its consequences and are tolerating at times a wrong interpretation of certain of its aspects."

STATE UNCHANGED: Along the lines of the **New Statesman** article, the Central Committee traced the origins of tyrannical rule in the battle against intervention and encirclement while seeking to industrialize a backward country. The statement charged that Stalin had imposed that rule when it was no longer required. He was opposed by a "Leninist core" who attempted to apply the brakes particularly during the war. They failed to make a determined stand not because of personal fears but because "anyone who had acted . . . against Stalin would not have received support from the people. Moreover, such a stand would in those conditions have been regarded as a stand against the cause of Socialist construction and a blow against the unity of the Party and the whole state, extremely dangerous in the presence of capitalist encirclement."

To those who doubt that Socialism could be built to the accompaniment of terror, the Central Committee said:

"Even Stalin was not big enough to change the state. No personality cult could change the nature of the Socialist state, based on public ownership of the means of production, the union of the working class and peasantry, and the friendship of peoples, although this cult did inflict serious damage on the development of Socialist democratism and the upsurge of the creative initiative of the millions."

There was nothing fundamentally wrong, the Committee said. "It would . . . be a serious mistake . . . to look for the source of this (personality) cult in the nature of the Soviet social order."

DIFFERENCES ON LEFT REMAIN, BUT BRIDGES ARE OPEN

Scandinavia wants to coexist with both sides

By Cedric Belfrage

HELSINKI

MY BRIEF WHIRL through the "little countries" of the North has left me with a strong impression of two things: the desire of the peoples as a whole for better relations with the U.S.S.R., and the tireless but now rather frantic efforts by Washington to keep the works as gummed-up as possible.

The frightened giant of the West has scored fewer points than he expected in the cold-war game by widespread publication of the text of Khrushchev's speech about Stalin's crimes. Upper-class Scandinavians have something to crow about ("that's what we said all along") but are

no less conscious of the imperative need for East-West understanding. The Left has suffered varying degrees of shock—in some areas, I felt, not enough for its own good—but is mainly focussing on the widened possibilities for socialist cooperation, now that Moscow has dropped its old line on Social Democrats and decided that all socialists are socialists.

In Finland, the biggest general strike in years was going on when the 20th CPSU Congress bombshells began to hit, and nobody had time to worry about them; the discussion in the Left press is only now getting under way. The editor of the People's Democratic Union (predominantly Communist) newspaper in Helsinki said to me:

"It is true that we praised and worshiped Stalin, but one must realize that this was a defense of the Soviet Union rather than of Stalin personally. We are slow people, but the main feeling that comes from the discussion is that this development will lead to a proper working of democracy in our own party which we didn't have."

THE U. S. GAMBIT: With Norway, Sweden and Denmark next on B and K's visiting list for this year, there is a spreading desire among Scandinavian journalists, businessmen, and others with the available cash for the still-costly trip, to go and see the U.S.S.R. for themselves. U.S. agents are systematically buttonholing all those said to nurse this ambition and pointing out that if they go, they won't get visas to visit the U.S. The gambit is often successful but suffers from the fact that Scandinavians, with their long tradition of social consciousness and political liberalism, are repelled by the intolerance and domestic persecutions of the government claiming to lead the "free world."

To keep the people reminded of these persecutions there are U. S. political exiles littered about Scandinavia, whose insistence that they like America and want to return when the nightmare is over amazes some of the local folk. Two veteran leaders of many a U. S. trade union fight with whom I have sat exchanging pleasant memories are Andrew Overgaard, now a Danish Communist Party official on the island of Bornholm, and Per Erikkson, now editing the Swedish-Hungarian friendship magazine in Stockholm.

COEXISTENCE WORKS: The big crowds welcoming Queen Elizabeth to Stockholm emphasized the breadth of the friendships which the Scandinavians want to, and must, maintain. Finland is the outstanding example of a country which—whether all Finns like it or not, and many do not—can't afford not to have good relations both with East and West. In this country coexistence is working and working pretty well.

The Scandinavian attitude toward East-West relations is indicated by the perfectly respectable names topping letterheads of societies for friendship with socialist countries. For example, the chairman of Stockholm's city council headed the Swedish-Soviet Friendship society even in the worst cold-war years. But internal Communist-Social Democrat relations, in these countries where Social Democrats usually predominate on the political scene, are a much more complicated matter. Whether the Communist parties are small as in Sweden (five MP's, eight Stockholm city councillors) or large as in Finland (43 Democratic Union MP's, 400,000 votes out of 2,000,000 cast at last election) most Social Democrats view them with acute suspicion.

TWO SIDES: There are arguments on both sides. Communists who have suffered grievously in their fight for a socialist Finland since 1917 (they cite 30,000 as having been massacred in the White Terror following the Finnish civil war; the editor quoted above was jailed almost throughout World War II) say that Social Democrats never helped the people's cause when the chips were down. Social Democrats list a blend of apparently imaginary charges against the CP with some very well-founded charges. A prominent SD left-winger harped to me on the fact that Finland's CP from the outset was "wholly run from headquarters in Russia" (true—before the war it was illegal and therefore underground in Finland).

Yet there are bridges, and they cannot be minimized. In Sweden one notes Communist, Social Democrat and other intellectuals co-operating in the work of the left-wing Clarte Society, and the broad political horizons of the Social Democratic Tidens publishing house. (Included on its forthcoming list is Barrie Stavis's book on Swedish-American Joe Hill.) On the international level, the role of the Yugoslavs, who now have good relations with Social Democrats and Communists in many countries and seem determined to work for a rapprochement, may be of decisive importance as time goes on. At the meeting of journalists from 40 countries, the two Yugoslav delegates participated with tactful but dynamic statesmanship in spite of the fact that, when Yugoslavia was thrown out of the Cominform, it was also summarily ejected from the Prague-centered Intl. Organization of Journalism.

THE REAL FUTURE: There is surely no future for the agonizingly inhibited attitude of Social Democrats and others, that they have a grievance but will not attend a no-holds-barred meeting to express it. There must be a future for the friendly spirit of those universal sons of common earth who span oceans and continents to pool experiences and ideas, ideals and plans.

Against this spirit I do not see great success ahead for the rather juvenile U. S. propagandists who are still playing "black propaganda" games learned in World War II. These cute rascals spent $50 for Finnish stamps to send all delegates a mimeographed stinkbomb against the Soviet press—unsigned, but implying that it emanated from a group of Finnish journalists.

Did I say all delegates? They didn't send one to me. With most other delegates I believe (and said so from the rostrum) that no press in the world can point with great pride to its record in recent years, and that professional organizations have a duty to protest against all persecutions of journalists by all governments. But I was one delegate for whom the source of the stinkbombs was just too painfully obvious.

"Sure you have freedom of expression . . . Write anything you think our advertisers may like."

THE BOYCOTTS

Tallahassee bus company suspends operations; Montgomery keeps walking

By Eugene Gordon

STICKING TO THEIR pledge to stay off city buses until specific grievances were met, Tallahassee's 14,000 Negroes were blamed by the City Transit Co. and city officials of forcing the line to suspend service at midnight June 30. Dan Speeks declared for the Negroes' Intercity Civic Assn., conductor of the month-long protest, that all their efforts to meet with city and bus line officials had failed. The ICA maintains a pool of 74 cars, two station wagons and a 25-passenger bus.

The company two weeks ago complained in full-page ads that unless it found relief from the nearly 100%-effective boycott by July 1, it would have to cease operation. Since the start of the protest May 28, following the arrest of two Negro college women for sitting beside a white woman on a bus, the company is said to have been losing approximately $3,000 daily. The company admitted that more than 60% of its revenue came from Negroes. ICA estimates that Negroes contributed no less than 70%-75%. The company last year earned $176,471.

The ads appealed to its former riders to consider its three Negro employes, who were "upset" over the boycott. It did not say what the men's jobs were. One of the association's three demands is that Negro drivers be hired for predominantly Negro routes. The remaining demands are that seating of Negro and white riders be arranged on a first-come, first-served basis and that white drivers treat Negro passengers courteously. Despite the company's losses, the city insisted that it obey local jimcrow laws rather than the Federal court ruling that they are unconstitutional in intrastate transportation.

THE OFFER: Speek said: "The Negro people of Tallahassee are in no mood to keep a bus company in business when it refuses to treat them as first-class citizens. We're willing to negotiate with the company on any just and fair terms, but we're not willing to barter our rights. As proof we're not out to kill the bus company, we will meet with its officials and members of the City Commission anywhere at any time. For a week now we've been trying to set up a meeting with the [white] ministerial alliance here in an effort to bring the two sides together."

Police have been harassing the protest leaders daily. Pressure recently was concentrated on the solitary bus in the car pool. It belongs to the St. Peters Missionary Baptist Church of the neighboring town of Charis. A city attorney said he believed he could find a statute forbidding payment of fares on a bus so operated. However, ICA has been carrying boycotters free.

IN MONTGOMERY: Leaders of Montgomery's protest, meanwhile, had this answer for the city's appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court from the local 3-judge Federal court injunction of June 19 outlawing jimcrow city ordinances: "We'll keep on walking. We want a definite decision before we take action."

Following the city's appeal, Mayor Gayle said there was "no doubt that an end of segregated seating on public conveyances will effect a drastic change in the people's habits." It would "alter customs which have been in existence since before Montgomery was founded and would have a severe impact" on all citizens.

While the city has appealed, the state has not. The Federal judges' injunction against enforcement of the segregation laws allowed a few days for appeal. If the state does not act within that time, the injunction will automatically become effective. The City Commissioners, all White Citizens Council members, said:

"We'll keep this thing in the courts for another six or eight months, at least. An appeal to the Supreme Court cannot be acted on until after the court ends its summer recess in October."

VOL. 1, NO. 1: The Rev. U. J. Fields, who quit the Montgomery Improvement Assn. with charges of money misuse and of "selfishness" among the leaders, declared last week before a mass meeting that it was "not a statement of truth." He had acted out of "anger and passion" and because of "personality clashes" with members of the MIA executive board. He begged forgiveness. The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King is MIA president.

MIA last week issued Vol. 1, No. 1, of its newsletter to answer "many thousands of letters, telegrams and telephone calls from over the nation requesting information concerning the bus protest." This one gives "a brief summary of the total picture of the local situation and brings readers up to date on recent happenings." Its address: Montgomery Improvement Assn., 530 S. Union St., Montgomery, Ala.

Flexible Ex

"We will not plow under every third row of cotton." — Secy. of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson, Sept. 20, 1955.

"Secretary Benson said farmers would be permitted to qualify (for the soil bank) by plowing under crops (including cotton). ." —N. Y. Times, June 1, 1956.

599 SORDID PAGES

Fund issues 2-volume report exposing the blacklisting racket

AN OPEN SECRET for the last six years came out between covers June 25 in 599 pages of a two-volume **Report on Blacklisting** by the Fund for the Republic. Written by John Cogley, a former editor of the Catholic magazine **Commonweal**, from the researches of ten reporters who interviewed some 500 people in eight months, the report affirms the following:

On June 28, Cogley was subpenaed to appear before the House Committee on Un-American Activities at a closed hearing on July 10 to tell "what the purposes of the Fund and Mr. Cogley truly are."

● All branches of the entertainment industry except the legitimate Broadway theater have yielded to hiring policies administered by an apparatus based on the blacklisting activities of the publication **Red Channels** and a "clearance" machinery of which Hearst columnist George Sokolsky is "chief justice" of the "Supreme Court".

● Performers, writers, directors and others mentioned by **Red Channels** and other sources for liberal or leftist activity must "crawl or starve". Biggest wheels in the blacklist apparatus in addition to Sokolsky are Roy Brewer, movie union leader until 1955 and now a movie executive; Jack Wren, publicist for Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborne ad agency; Laurence Johnson, Syracuse Legionnaire and former supermarket operator; and Vincent Hartnett, writer who takes credit for **Red Channels** and is "frankly in the business of exposing people with 'front records' and then, later, of 'clearing' them." Victor Riesel, Frederick Woltman and others are named as collaborators.

● Standard "clearance" procedure has included appearance as a "friendly witness" before the House Committee on Un-American Activities; denouncing the Communist Party at a union meeting; writing an article for a magazine and joining the right-wing Motion Picture Alliance for the Preservation of American Ideals (founded to break the back of the Hollywood unions).

● Blacklist aides include AWARE Inc., **Counterattack** ($24 a year publication run by ex-FBI men) and the American Legion. The AWARE view is that "clearance" must include evidence of being "actively" anti-Communist.

● Notables "cleared" have included Jose Ferrer, Gene Kelly, John Huston, Henry Morgan, Abe Burrows, Edward Dmytryk, one of the Hollywood Ten. Burrows' attorney said: "I went over everybody's head—straight to Sokolsky."

Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch
DARKNESS AT NOON

Many still unable to find employment have been innocent of all connections named in the blacklisting but unable or unwilling to make satisfactory "repentance".

● Actress Marsha Hunt, one of the first to refuse to knuckle under, was told: "This is a time for expediency, not integrity." An early victim was Jean Muir, now "unemployable" and doing social work.

● The report states that "hundreds" have suffered loss of income and critical setbacks in their careers, 212 in movies alone.

● In radio-TV the hiring pattern is confused by "a multiplicity of lists and procedures, different policies on different networks, the creation of a secret and labyrinthine world of political screening."

● "The blacklist has become a permanent feature of life of these particular industries."

THE BEGINNING: The development of the blacklist traces back to the 1947 invasion of Hollywood by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, as a result of which the Hollywood Ten went to jail for contempt of Congress in 1950. At that point **Counterattack** issued the first **Red Channels**, which listed some 150 individuals as Communists, sympathizers and "fronters." The American Legion chipped in a short time later with some 300 more names. Broadway and Hollywood columnists, Red-hunting writers for Hearst, Scripps-Howard et al, radio gossipers and "repenting" performers, directors and writers added to the list.

The "fight-back" was started in Hollywood in 1947-48 by a Committee for the First Amendment which quickly quit; and in radio by the Voice of Freedom Committee in New York, which fought for the jobs of liberal radio commentators, actors and directors who were the first to encounter the blacklist.

A remarkable one-woman reporting job by Elizabeth Poe in the liberal West Coast monthly **Frontier** in 1953-54 on the blacklist and "gray" list in Hollywood gave the Fund for the Republic a running start on its 1955-56 project.

Copies of the two-volume report will be available at bookstores beginning July 9, or through Meridian Books, 17 Union Sq., N.Y. 3. Price $2.50.

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WHAT SHOULD BE THE ATTITUDE OF U.S. MARXISTS TO THE SOVIET UNION?
William Mandel; David Goldway
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FROM THE CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN

Peace, freedom, abundance is good old-time religion

By Danny Lane
Special to the Guardian

EUGENE, ORE.

A FRESH, STRONG VOICE came out of Eugene, Ore., last month. It spoke in religious terms, but the social, political and economic implications were unmistakable.

More than 700 delegates attending the 170th annual conference of the 200,000-member Church of the Brethren (June 12-17) unanimously passed resolutions calling for peace, support to the UN, outlawing of A- and H-bomb tests, revision of the McCarran-Walter Act, conservation and public ownership of natural resources, civil liberties, and an end to racial discrimination. The Conference also voted to "commend those of our membership who take the conscientious objector position in relation to the draft."

The Church declared in its civil liberties resolution: "We condemn the techniques of character assassination and guilt by association, and all efforts that threaten to curb the freedom of inquiry and research, which is basic in our schools and other democratic institutions."

ON RACE RELATIONS: Two resolutions struck at the heart of U.S. military alliances. The one that provoked most discussion dealt with "Race Relations." Without dissent, the convention agreed:

"Our goal must be no less than an integrated church and public school in an integrated community. Such a goal involves housing, equal rights to medical facilities, jobs in industry, the right to vote, and membership and participation in the affairs of the community and of the Christian body."

Southern delegates were most critical of jimcrow. A North Carolina woman said: "I asked myself, is the way of Jesus Christ a one way, white road? I answered myself that it is not." A man from rural Texas said: "Brethren means brotherhood—the human race. If the Church doesn't seek brotherhood, who will?"

Away from the Conference, held at the University of Oregon, delegates asserted themselves on burning issues of the day. Dan West, a farmer from Goshen, Ind., told the neighboring Springfield Kiwanis Club: "Our foreign policy is a denial of the best we have in America . . . This policy won't change until the people help change it."

OTHERS COULD LEARN: The Conference was something from which progressives could well learn lessons. There were no pompous phrases, no long speeches, no hero worship, no talking down, no dilettantism, no shouting. There was rapt attention to everything said, and a world of good humor.

The delegates seemed to feel that they were meeting in a national atmosphere of conformity, and were prepared to challenge it. When several delegates called for a committee to establish an official Church theology, delegate William Bean said:

"Once you have an official, static line you get afraid someone will deviate, so you set up investigating committees. We've fought that out. We don't want committees coming into our colleges and seminaries and checking on what the professors are teaching and what the students are thinking. You can't develop thought looking over your shoulder."

Several delegates reported that "successful meetings" had been held with Quakers, the Fellowship of Reconciliation and other groups.

Most of the delegates appeared to be working people, students, small farmers, small merchants, with a sprinkling of professionals. Their mood made it plain that they were ready to make common cause with other toilers in the nonviolent vineyards of the Grapes of Wrath.

Up in smoke

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Greet Cancer with joy and laughter.
What statistics don't show
Years you lose here below
Will be added right to your Hereafter.
Cig.

Art for politics' sake

NOT ONLY are there some Americans who do not persecute their unorthodox fellow-citizens; there are some who refuse to be a party to a published smear. And there remains an occasional voice in the US Senate and the press which protests the witchhunts, although the grounds of the protests are not altogether progressive.

Having secured the aid of the American Fedn. of Arts in gathering a show of works of 100 of America's leading painters to exhibit abroad, the U. S. Information Agency apparently wilted recently before a blast of hot air from Rep. George A. Dondero (R.-Mich.) about the "Red art brigade."

What leading art institutions considered "an ambitious step in international cultural exchange" was thereupon called off because ten of the artists included in the show "may be accused of pro-Communist leanings" (**NYT** 6/16). But the federation rejected any political "means" test for art and, rather than participate in publicizing the smear, it declared that it did not even want to know the names of those suspected of being what the agency called "social hazards." Sen. Humphrey (D-Minn.) complained that the USIA's "timidity, hesitancy and cowardice" weakened its anti-Soviet propaganda. The NY Times said editorially that the agency should not let itself be "bullied" and rejected the idea that "art must undergo a test of the political legitimacy of the artists." Noting that the State Dept. sometimes uses similar standards, the Times deplored this as "a Nazi and Communist concept."

Last May a USIA show of "Sport in Art," aimed at the Olympic Festival in Australia, was canceled on loyalty grounds. A traveling show of masterpieces from college museums was objected to by the agency because it included a Picasso. The artists point out bitterly that what was supposed to advance American prestige is damaging our cultural standing abroad.

CALENDAR

Detroit

A DEBATE: "The Recent Events in the Soviet Union and their Significance for the American People." Bolza Baxter, Chairman Mich. Labor Youth League—Bob Himmel, 1954 Congressional Candidate, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., July 13, 8 p.m., at Greater King Solomon Baptist Church, 4638 4th (at Forest) Auspices: Student Committee for Free Speech.

New York

WHAT IS BEHIND THE POLISH WORKERS UPRISING— AN ATTEMPT TO RESTORE CAPITALISM—OR PART OF A REGENERATION OF THE WORKER'S STATE ON THE ROAD TO SOCIALISM? Hear MORRIS STEIN, outstanding Marxist and writer for The Militant give a Trotskyist analysis of this world historic event, Fri. eve., July 6, Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave. (near 14th St.) 8 p.m.

CLUB CINEMA (430 Sixth Ave.) **"THE HOWARDS OF VIRGINIA,"** July 7. Stirring tale of the birth of a great nation, with Gary Grant and Martha Scott. Based on the novel, "The Tree of Liberty." Showings: Sat., 8:30 and 10 p.m. Adm: Members, $1.00, non-members, $1.25. Next week: **ABRAHAM LINCOLN.**

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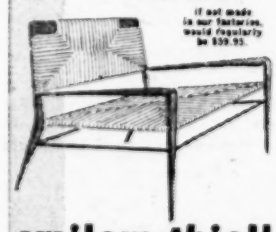

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the SPECTATOR

The inside of the inside

When have the people been half as rotten
as what the panderers to the people
dangle before crowds?
When has the fiber of the people been as
shoddy as what is sold to the people
by cheaters?

Carl Sandburg, in **The People, Yes**

THE NEWSSTANDS these days seem to be clogging up like busy sewers with a new form of waste, the so-called "exposé" magazines. These bear names like **Confidential, Hush-Hush, Top Secret, Uncensored, Anything Goes, Inside Story,** and **Dynamite.** It's another boom industry. The oldest smellie in the field, **Confidential,** claims a circulation of over 4,000,000.

In my sneak reading at the local drug store, I've managed to do a little research into **Confidential.** Frankly I was shocked, and you would be shocked too, to read in a magazine that is sold on every newsstand and goes through the mails such purported information as that a recent U. S. Secretary of State was a giddy and active homosexual during his long term of office.

The rag gives all the intimate details, documented with photographs, photostats of police records, eyewitness accounts, the whole lot. And nobody brings a libel suit!

Every month hundreds of unfortunate Americans who have achieved any prominence are similarly "exposed" in these journals. Hollywood stars, Wall Street big shots, Washington solons, find themselves accused of crimes like rape, nymphomania, dope, alcoholism, adultery, all the forms of sex perversion. With pictures and documents! With direct charge and sly innuendo! They make you think America is being run by a gang of mad Rasputins.

MORAL APPRAISAL: John P. Sisk, a writer in **Commonweal,** has made a moral appraisal of this new mess in the June 1 issue of that thoughtful and high-calibred Catholic weekly. His theory is that such magazines find a big audience because they appeal to a deep need in the average man. Through such exposures he gets the illusion that he is finding revenge for his poverty and lack of success, that he is somehow controlling his masters by toppling them from their moral pedestals.

Mr. Sisk points out, however, that these rags don't really expose anything vital. They are only pandering sex for a fast, dirty buck. And they deepen the cynicism of the average American. They corrupt what is best in him, "his idealist willingness to commit himself in a worthy cause."

Mencken's legacy

THE LAST BOOK of the vanished old buffalo, H. L. Mencken, has just appeared, (**Minority Report,** Knopf, $3.95.) It's a collection of jottings he made during his last illness. Maybe it would have been kinder not to have published these *pensées.* They have no style. It was his exuberant, fantastic style, above all, that made Mencken the roaring Sam Johnson of his epoch. He was a great entertainer, a master of gaudy showmanship. But the style, the life bloom, has gone from these last withered apples on the tree. Only the prejudices of the Baltimore Tory remain, sour and uglier and more sterile than one had remembered. ("The thing overlooked by those hopefuls who talk about abolishing war is that it is by no means an evil of decay, but rather a proof of health and vigor.") He speaks of the CIO Auto Workers as "mere human mules," of Hindus as barbarians, and of course, of the American people as "the sweaty herd."

Mencken fought for some good things in his life. He raised the flag of science and mocked at all the superstitions. He was for free speech and against censorship in the arts. He was a champion of writers like Dreiser and Sinclair Lewis. And above all, he was an entertaining moralist, never a hypocritical bore!

Just the same, his carnival Nietzcheanism could serve only one historic purpose. It helped destroy the old rural moralities of America, the simple faith in democracy, and to prepare the nation for a more sophisticated, amoral, ambitious role as a conquering world power. Under all the clowning, Mencken was the John the Baptist of Henry Luce's American Century.

Mencken's spiritual heirs aren't found in the democratic camp today. You will find them rather in the chromium offices of **Time, Life and Fortune.** They are the stream-lined punks of Madison Avenue, the slick, soulless, knowing and completely purchaseable intellectuals who, for a price, are creating a shiny new ideology to cover the corrosion of capitalism.

Last ditch

THE ANECDOTE is going around of a reporter who was discussing world affairs at lunch with a higher-up in the State Department. This worthy, a Grotoneer without the slightest sense of humor, confided very solemnly:

"Do you know what we think is our main task today? It's to sell the American people the notion that capitalism can survive in one country."

Michael Gold

In case YOU didn't get our letter...

". . . just something modest like a backyard barbecue, beach party, strawberry festival, an evening with T-V, Hi-Fi, V.O., or just sitting around the air-conditioner . . ."

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